

## A Byzantine business letter and account from the collection of the Oslo University Library\*

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**Abstract:** This Byzantine papyrus from Aphrodite preserves the middle part of a business letter on the *recto* and the address on the *verso*. The letter concerns an estate of the monastery of Apa Sourous. The *verso* contains an account of expenses which connects the papyrus to the well-known archive of Dioscorus.

**Keywords:** Byzantine papyrus, business letter, monastery of Apa Sourous, account, archive of Dioscorus

P.Oslo inv. 523

18.3 x 22.6 cm

VI, Aphrodite

This Byzantine papyrus from Aphrodite was acquired to the collection of the Oslo University Library among a group of Roman papyri from the Arsinoites.<sup>1</sup> The *recto* preserves the middle part of a business letter, complete with an address on the *verso*. The *verso* further contains an account of expenses. The papyrus probably originates from the well-known archive of Dioscorus. Below I present the editions of the letter and the account separately.

### Business letter by Ammonios

It is a medium brown papyrus, broken off at the right and left hand side, but the upper (2.5 cm) and lower (2 cm) margins are fully preserved (except for a gap at the upper right hand side in lines 1–2). The text on the *recto* is written *transversa charta*. If the total width of the roll was ca. 30 cm, cf. the size of the Byzantine letters in CPR XXV and H. Harrauer, *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie. Textband* (2010) 54, and the cross or saltire pattern on the *verso* was centred, about a quarter of the text is missing from the left hand side and a few letters from the right hand side (cf. l. 4). A *kollesis*, upper over lower, is visible above line 1 and between line 7 and 8. There is some damage to lines 2, 4, below 5, 7, below 8 and below 9 which corresponds to some of the lighter areas at the *verso* of the

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\* I would like to thank A. Maravela, K.A. Worp and J.-L. Fournet for their comments on previous versions of this papyrus edition.

<sup>1</sup> The inventory numbers 434–539 were purchased in 1923 through a joint purchase with the British Museum and the Michigan and Columbia universities.

sheet and is probably caused by the folding of the piece horizontally from the bottom upwards.

The *recto* is written in an experienced, cursive hand common in Byzantine papyri from the sixth century CE, cf. P.Oxy. XVI 1885 (509); P.Oxy. I 144 (580) and P.Heid. III 247 (1.–25.11.598 or 2.–26.11.599; BL X, 84). Parallels can also be found among the texts from the sixth century Dioscorus' archive, e.g. P.Cair. Masp. I 67067, R°; 67076, R° and III 67282, R°. The *verso* contains the address of this letter in a chancellery hand along the fibres at the top of the papyrus, see P.Harrauer 56, p. 203–204, for comments on this style of writing.

The letter seems to concern one of the holdings of the Apa Sourous monastery. This monastery was located in the Antaiopolites, near the village of Aphrodite, cf. A. Calderini, *Dizionario Geografico I.2* (1966) 333 and P. Barison, "Ricerche sui monasteri dell'Egitto bizantino ed arabo", *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 114–115, Nr. 36. The monastery is attested in several sixth century texts from Aphrodite: P.Cair. Masp. I 67087, 6 (27.12.543); I 67110, 27 (25.07.565); II 67133, 1 (ca. 541; BL XII, 46); II 67139, VI V° 2 (541–546; BL IX, 43); P.Freer 1 + 2 = SB XX 14669, 4ff. (524) and P.Mich. XIII 667, 6–7, 35 (mid VI), all belonging to the Dioscorus archive. During the seventh and eighth centuries the monastery is attested in CPR XXIV 31, 7 (mid–second half VII) and the tax register P.Lond. IV 1419 + SB XX 15099 (716–717; BL V, 56). This business letter mentions the *προεστώς* (l. 1), the manager of the estates belonging to the property of the monastery, a specific estate (*τὸ κτήμα*, l. 3) of which the name is not preserved (it might have been at the end of l. 2) and a farmer (*τὸν γεωργόν*, l. 2ff.) who was probably held responsible for the cultivation of the estate. The monastery of Apa Sourous was an important landholder in the area and it leased out land to private landowners, who could sub-lease it to a *γεωργός*. Dioscorus is known to have been a middleman-lessee for the Apa Sourous monastery, see J. Keenan, "Absentee Landlordism at Aphrodite", *BASP* 22 (1985) 157. The responsibility for the payment of the taxes on leased land was also transferable, see M. Mirković, "Count Ammonios and Paying Taxes in the Name of Somebody Else", *Pap. Congr.* 25 (2010) 568–569.

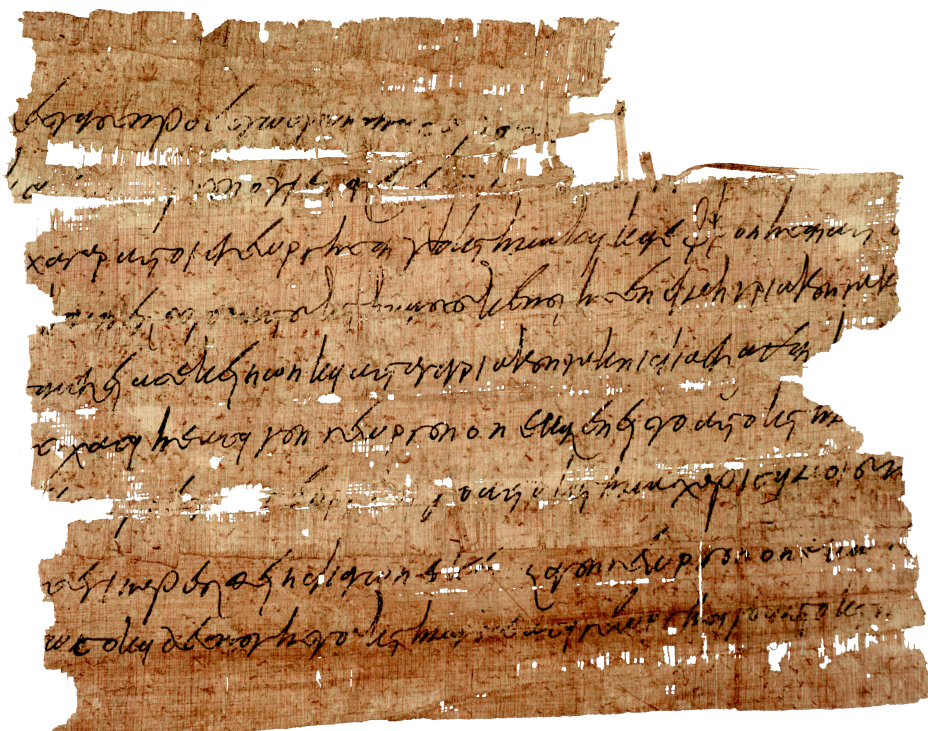
The well-known count and landowner Ammonios might have been the sender of this letter (see n. to V°). He had received a message from the *προεστώς* of the monastery of Apa Sourous concerning the produce of the vineyard of the estate. The monastery of Apa Sourous owned land in as many as twenty *topoi* and the rents from these holdings added up to more than 137 artabai of grain and also payments in oil and wine, cf. L.S.B. MacCoull, "Notes on the Social Structure of Late Antique Aphrodite", *BSAC* 26 (1984) 71–74 and J. Gasco, *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (2008) 282, n. to l. 4. In the lease contract P.Mich. XIII 667, 14–19 (mid VI) the rent of an estate of the monastery included the payment of the taxes (*συντελείαι*) and in addition 20 artabai of corn and 50 vessels of sweet wine. In our letter the produce of the vineyard of the estate yielded a total of only 30 jars (*τριάκοντα κνίδια* l. 4–5), which might be due to negligence (*τῇς ἀμελείας ἐκείνων*, l. 5).

The exact content of the letter is obscured by the missing parts on the left and right hand side of the papyrus, but some phrases can be supplemented due to the effusive and repetitive style of this Byzantine letter. Recurring figures are the *προεστώς* of the monastery (l. 1, 7 and perhaps 9) and the farmer (l. 2, 6 and 8), who might have been responsible for the cultivation. It seems that the *προεστώς* and/or Ammonios wanted to allow the farmer to continue to cultivate the same estate (l. 6, 9) despite of the problem that has arisen.

R<sup>o</sup> ↓ [ - - - μοι ὁ θεοφι]λέστατος προεστὼς τῶν ἅπα Σουρουῦτο[ς - - - ]  
 [ - - - ] . . . [τὸν γεω]ργὸν ὅτι ἔβαλε[ν] εἰς ἰ . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] [ - - - ]  
 [ - - - τά]χα γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐγεώργησαν τὸ κτῆμα καὶ κατεφρόνησαν αὐτο[ῦ - - - ]  
 [ - - - ] ἡ ἄμπελος τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήματος οὐκ ἐποίησεν εἰ μὴ τριάκοντα κγ[ῖδια ]  
 5 [ - - - τῆς ἀμελείας ἐκείνων καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ τριάκοντα κνίδια ἔλαβαν [ - - - ]  
 [ - - - ἐφ]ησυχᾶσαι ἢ ἑᾶσαι τὸν γεωργὸν ὃν ἔβαλεν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ κτῆμ[α - - - ]  
 [ - - - ] . ε[ν ὃ ] προεστ[ῶς] γεωργῆσαι τὸ αὐτὸ κτῆμα χάρισαί μοι συν[ - - - ]  
 [ - - - ] . σπει παρελθεῖν διὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ [ἀλ]λὰ τὸν γεωργὸν ὃν ἔβαλε[ν - - - ]  
 [ - - - ] ὡς ὁ καὶ δεσπότης τοῦ κτήματος ἑᾶσαι γεωργῆσαι τὸ αὐτὸ κτῆ[μα ]

$V^{\circ} \rightarrow [- - -]$  Ἀφοροτί X δης *vac.*  $\pi(\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha})$  Ἀμμων[ίου - - -]

2 ἴ [ 9 ]ως corr. ex ]ωι, V° l. Ἀφροδίτης



P.Oslo inv. 523 R<sup>o</sup>: Business letter by Ammonius

**1** [- - - μοι ὁ θεοφι]λέστατος προεστώς: There are several possibilities to refer to the letter which the προεστώς wrote, such as BGU II 605, 1 (VII–VIII) † καθὼς (l. -ὼς) γεγράφηκέν μοι ἡ σὴ ἀδελφ(ότης) ὅτι or P.Hamb. III 229, 2 (VI) † καθὼς ἔγραψέν μοι ἡ σὴ εὐλάβεια περὶ, for more references, e.g. to comparable Demotic and Coptic epistolary formulae, see CPR XXV 34, n. to l. 2. Considering the total width of this text, a shorter alternative, such as † ἔγραψέν μοι, is preferable, cf. P.Berl. Sarisch. 15, 2 (VI) † ἔγραψέν μοι ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης ὅτι and CPR XXV 34, 2 (mid (?) VII) † ἔγραψέν μοι ὁ ἐμὸς (l. -ὸς) ἀγαθὸς δεσπότης μετὰ Γεωργίου τοῦ συμμάχου (l. συμμάχου) περὶ τῆς οὐσίας. Cf. also n. to l. 7.

θεοφι]λέστατος: Possible supplements for this honorific title include εὐλαβέστατος, εὐσεβέστατος, θεοσεβέστατος and θεοφιλέστατος, cf. H. Ziliacius, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln* (1949) 84–85. Although προεστώς often occurs with εὐλαβέστατος, see also O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden* (1930) 16–17, the reading of λ fits the traces best. For θεοφιλέστατος with a προεστώς see P.Mich. XIII 667, 7, 35–36 (mid VI), where it is also used for the προεστώς of the Apa Sourous monastery, and further P.Cair. Masp. II 67170, 6–7 (15.–24.04.562–564; ZPE 145, 2003, 243); II 67171, 7–8 (16.04.564–565; ZPE 145, 2003, 243) and P.Fouad 88, V° 1 (VI).

προεστώς: The head of the monastery and the manager of the estates belonging to the property of the monastery. The προεστώς is often a πρεσβύτερος or διάκονος, see E. Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte* (2009) 327–328, but compare also the μονάζον(τος) καὶ προεστῶ[τος] of the Apa Sourous monastery in P.Mich. XIII 667, 7, 35–36 (mid VI).

τῶν ἅπα Σουροῦτο[ς]: Cf. CPR XXIV 31, 7 (mid–second half VII) τὰ ἄββα Σουροῦτος, which is interpreted as “die (sc. Gebäude/Einrichtungen des Klosters) des Abba Surus”, but a full reference to the place or premises of the monastery might have followed as well.

**2** [- - -] . . . [τὸν γεω]ργόν: The topic of this letter could have been introduced by περί + gen. or ὅτι in line 2, see n. to l. 1 for parallels to this formula. The traces before [τὸν γεω]ργόν might fit the preposition διά, which could belong to the phrase παρέρχομαι διά + gen. “mit Forderungen belästigen”, cf. n. to l. 8 and CPR XXV 33 (VII), n. to l. 5, where an example of the construction παρέρχομαι διά + acc. is mentioned (P.Vindob. G 16791, 7). Another possible reading is ]κϣ, a first person verbal ending.

ἔβαλε[v] εἰς ἰ. . . [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] [- - -]: Cf. n. to l. 6. What follows after ἔβαλε[v] εἰς might be part of the introduction of the estate by providing a name or referring to its location, cf. e.g. P.Hamb. I 68, 26 (548 or 563; BL XII, 83) κτήματος λεγόμενον ἅπα Διοσκόρο(υ) or P.Mich. XIII 667, 5–6 (mid VI) κτήματος | λεγομένου τῶν βαφέων, referring to the τόπος βαφέ(ων). A τόπος Ἱερακίω-νος is attested, e.g. the tax register P.Lond. IV 1419, VIII 139ff. (716–717; BL V, 56), and a κλῆρος Ἱεράδος, e.g. P.Lond. V 1686, 13–14 (07.11.565), but other names are possible as well.



**3** κατεφρόνησαν: Cf. P.Cair. Masp. II 67243, 14–15 (527–565; BL VIII, 74) μηδαμῶς | καταφρονῆσαι τῆς [αὐ]τῶν παροχῆς “niemals die Ablieferung des Kornpachtzins vernachlässigen”, see F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch I* (1925) 770.

**4** τριάκοντα κυ[ίδια: Cf. l. 5. The κνίδιον is a jar used for dry (money, grapes), semi dry (garum, olives), but most frequently for liquid goods such as wine and olive oil, see N. Kruit & K. Worp, “Geographical Jar Names”, *APF* 46.1 (2000) 104–110. It could be that the rent on this estate was paid in κνίδια of wine, cf. the mention of a vineyard in l. 4 and P.Mich. XIII 667, 14–19 (mid VI), in which the rent consisted of the taxes, an additional 20 artabai of corn and 50 vessels of sweet wine (οἴνου γλεύκους | ἄγγια πεντήκοντα, l. 16–17) each year.

**5** ἔλαβαν: The reading of the β is problematic, but this hook-shaped sign does not resemble any other letter either. The verb ἔλαβαν contains the ending of the first aorist to a second aorist form, cf. F.T. Gignac, *Grammar II* (1981) 335–345, see for ἔλαβαν p. 342, and B. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (1973) 148–154.

[- - -]: The traces resemble κ or η.

**6** ἐφ[η]συχάσαι: Possible supplements include ἡσυχάζω “sich beruhigen, sich ruhig verhalten, sich zur Ruhe setzen, bewenden lassen, auf etw. verzichten (τινί)” and the derived verbs ἀφ[η]συχάζω “sich beruhigen”; ἐφ[η]συχάζω “sich bei etw. beruhigen, zufriedengestellt sein”; καθ[η]συχάζω “sich beruhigen, sich zufrieden geben”, see F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch I* (1925) 662, 246, 632 and 715. The traces before the sigma could very well belong to the connection between η and σ. The verb ἐφ[η]συχάσαι in the meaning of “to acquiesce, to tolerate” seems the best fit in this construction, cf. SB XVIII 13320, 5ff. (613–641).

τὸν γεωργὸν ὃν ἔβαλεν εἰς: The farmer occurs several times in this letter (l. 2, 6, 8). He is said to have been “put into” the estate, see LSJ s.v. βάλλω A. II.6, and compare the expressions in P.Mich. VIII 492, 20 (II) ὁ κωμογραμματεὺς ἔβαλέν με εἰς χρεῖαν “the village secretary has put me into a liturgy”; P.Oxy. XVII 2155, 14–15 (IV) ἔβαλε αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς δεκανίας “he thrust him into the decaniae” and P.Kellis I 12, 18–20 (IV) ]βάλε εἰς τὸ μονοστή[ριον (l. μοναστήριον) ὅπου δι-δάσκει (l. διδάσκει) αὐτὸν λίγ[ου] [φικὴν “put him into the monastery, where it (one) teaches him the linen-weaving trade”. In practice this γεωργός was maybe “put in charge” of the cultivation of the land and he might also have been responsible for the contribution of the rent and dues, see M. Mirković, “Count Ammonios and Paying Taxes in the Name of Somebody Else”, *Pap. Congr.* 25 (2010) 568–569.

**7** [- - -]. ε[ν ὁ] προσε[τ] [ώς]: Probably καθὼς ἔγραψ[ε] [ν ὁ] προσε[τ] [ώς]. Two vertical strokes are preserved above the lacuna at the beginning of line 7. Because it is slightly leaning forward, the second one seems most compatible with the upper part of an ε. For the same reason the first stroke might fit a ψ better than the upper part of the κ in this hand. This makes a supplement ἔγραψ[ε] [ν more likely than for example γεγράφ[η]κε[ν], cf. n. to l. 1.

ου [- - -]: The traces point to a τ or a ν, so ουτ[, perhaps οὔτ[ως, or οὐν are possible.

8 [- - -] .σεται: Probably πρ]οσέτι or perhaps ] .ς έτι.

παρελθεῖν δια τῶν ἐκεῖ: For παρέρχομαι διά + gen. with the meaning of “jmdn. in Sachen der Besteuerung heranziehen (heimsuchen)” see H. Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax* (1932) 24–25, and CPR XXV 33 (VII), n. to l. 5.

ἔβαλε[v - - -]: Possibly supplement εἰς | τὸ αὐτὸ κτήμα, cf. l. 6.

9 [- - -]ως ὁ καὶ δεσπότης: The phrase ὁ καὶ is generally found with personal names. The title δεσπότης was sometimes used to refer to a superior, such as the κόμες or προεστώς, see PSI V 480, 2 (V–VI) ὁ δεσπότης μου ὁ κόμες or P.Fouad 88, V° 1 (VI) † δεσπό(τη) ἐμῷ ... προεστ(ῶτι) Μετ(ανοίας). These examples support the possibility of a supplement προεστ]ως ὁ καὶ δεσπότης, but other options for the interpretation of ]ως, such as another function or title, cannot be excluded.

V° [- - -] . Ἀφροτί X δης: The reading of the address is slightly complicated by the cross or saltire pattern in the middle of the address. After the cross the letters δος or δης are visible. Frequent formulae for the address on the *verso* of these Byzantine letters are ἐπίδος or ἀπόδος addressee (dative) π(αρά) sender (genitive), e.g. P.Mert. I 46, V° (late V–early VI; BL VIII, 208); BGU II 605, V° (VII–VIII), or addressee (dative) and sender (nominative), e.g. P.Apoll. 32, V° (second half VII; BL VIII, 10). The usage of δός is rare and usually occurs at the beginning of the address followed by the addressee (dative), cf. P.Oxy. XVII 2156, V° (late IV–V) and P.Ant. II 94, V° (VI). Therefore it is unlikely that we have here a single δός in the middle of the address, but rather a continuation of the addressee, cf. P.Berl. Zill. 12, V° (III–IV) τῇ κυρίᾳ μου μη×τρί παρ’ Ἀθανασί[α]ς τῆς θυγατρός; SB XII 10841, 30 (IV) κυρίῳ μου ἀδελ×φῷ Γοῦατῆ and CPR XXV 11, 8 (VI) † τῷ θεωσεβεστάτῳ (l. θεοσεβεστάτῳ) κυρίῳ πα vac. τρῇ (l. πατρὶ) ἅπα Κολλούθῳ, where the remains of a cross are visible before and after the *vacat*, see Tafel 10 and n. to l. 8. The genitive of the village of Aphrodite then should have been spelled as Ἀφροτίδης here, cf. P.Cair. Masp. III 67284, 1 (VI) ἀπὸ κώμης Ἀφροτίδης (l. Ἀφροδίτης); I 67076, 5 (VI); II 67191, 2 (VI), and see for the possible inversion of consonants and the interchange of δ and τ intervocalically F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek papyri I* (1976) 82–83, 154. The full address could then include a verb form such as ἐπίδος, a name and/or function in the dative, followed by κώμης] Ἀφροτί X δης, cf. P.Cair. SR 3733(2) = *Pap. Congr.* 22.1 (2001) 481–482 (VI) ἐπίδο(ς) Σενοῦθίῳ καὶ Ἐνῶχ πρωτοκ(ωμήταις) Ἀφρο[δ(ίτης)] πα(ρὰ) Ἀμμωνίου κ[όμετος] and ἐπίδ[ο(ς) τ]οῖς κεφαλ[α]ιωτ(αῖς) κώμ[ης] Ἀφ[ρ]ο[δ(ίτης)] π(αρά) Ἀμμωνί[ο]υ κ[όμετος]. Just a tiny dot of ink might be visible under the lacuna before Ἀφροτί X δης, but it is impossible to say whether κώμης or something else was written there, cf. also the addressee in P.Cair. Masp. I 67067, V° (VI) † τῷ τ[α] π(ά)ντ(α) εὐδοκ[ι]μωτ(άτω) ἀ]δελφ(ῶ) Διοσκόρῳ πρωτοκ[(ωμήτη) Ἀ]φρ[οδ(ίτ)ης].

Ἀμμωνίου - -]: Up to 13 people with this name are attested in sixth century Aphrodite, cf. G.R. Ruffini, *A Prosopography of Byzantine Aphrodite* (2011) 17–20. A monk Ammonios (nr. 8) is attested in connection to the monastery of Apa Sourous in P.Cair. Masp. II 67133, 1 (ca. 541; BL XII, 46). The most interesting candidate is the famous count Ammonios (nr. 1), known from the texts of the Dioscorus archive. He is mentioned in connection with several monasteries in the mid sixth century AD, such as the monastery of Apa Apollo in PSI VIII 933, 3–4 (24.–28.08.538). Furthermore, the address of this letter finds a close parallel in the formulae used as headings in a dossier of administrative letters written by Dioscorus, see J.-L. Fournet, “Du nouveau dans les archives de Dioscore d’Aphrodité”, *Pap. Congr. 22.1* (2001) 481–482 and previous note. These formulae resemble the addresses of letters originating from count Ammonios.

*The most highly favoured manager of the [...] of Apa Sourous [has written to me] [...] the farmer that he put into [...] for they might have cultivated the estate and neglected it [...] the vineyard of the same estate produced only thirty jars [...] of the negligence of them and they took these thirty jars [...] to tolerate or to allow the farmer that he put into the same estate [...] as] the manager [wrote] to cultivate the same estate, do me a favour [...] to impose with taxes the men there but the farmer that he put [into the same estate ...] and lord of the estate to allow to cultivate the same estate. (Verso) [To ...] of Aphrodite, from Ammonios [...].*

### Account of expenses<sup>2</sup>

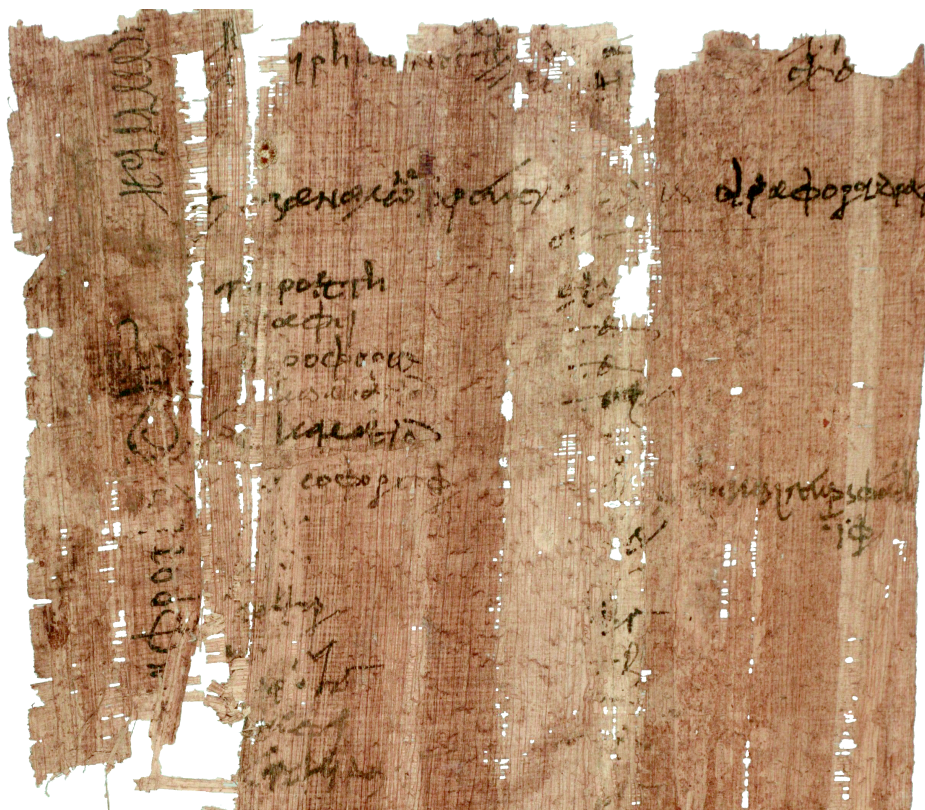
In the middle of the *verso*, turned 90° anti-clockwise, across the fibres are the remains of an account of expenses. At the top of the sheet above the heading of the list are the traces of the last three lines of another account. The main list consists of 14 lines with both upper (2 cm) and lower (6.7 cm) margins. In l. 12 a note is added to the main account. The last 6 entries on the list are badly preserved, although some of the amounts γ (l. 15) and β (l. 16) are readable.

J.-L. Fournet identified the hand writing as that of the famous Dioscorus, cf. his handwriting in e.g. P.Cair. Masp. I 67097 V° A (16.12.558 or 573); P.Flor. III 289 (VI) and P.Lond. V 1686 (07.11.565), see L. Del Corso, “Le scritture di Dioscore”, in J.-L. Fournet (ed.), *Les archives de Dioscore d’Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte* (2008) 91–95. Most letters, such as the ρ, τ, η, λ and the ligatures of ας and αρ are very similar indeed. The κ is less typical, but he might have written this account in a less formal manner. The first and last attestations of Dioscorus are in P.Cair. Masp. I 67087 (28.12.543; ZPE 26, 1977, 272) and P.Cair. Masp. I 67096 (05.–11.573; BL VII, 34), see J.-L. Fournet, “Archive ou archives de Dioscore? Les dernières années des «archives de Dioscore»”, in J.-L. Fournet (ed.), *Les archives de Dioscore d’Aphrodité cent ans après leur décou-*

<sup>2</sup> I would like to thank J.-L. Fournet for his generous help with the reading of the *verso*. Among others, I owe parts of the readings of l. 5, 7 and 12 to him.

verte (2008) 19–21. If the identification of the hand writing is correct, this papyrus should not be dated any later than 573 CE.

The main part of this account of expenses (l. 5–12) contains payments to men in various professions, which are possibly connected to the making of clothes (ράπτης, γναφεύς, l. 7–8). Payments for four products of clothing (καρακάλλιον, καμάσιον, μαφόριον and φακιάλιον) are mentioned in l. 10–12. All garments seem to be Latin loanwords, but this is not uncommon for these types of products, cf. P.Heid. VII 406, p. 176. The items are common and often found in other lists of clothing, see e.g. P.Princ. II 82, 36–45 (481) which contains all four of them.



P.Oslo inv. 523 V°: Account of expenses

V° ↓ -----  
 π(αρὰ) [...] [...] χρ. [- - -]  
 π(αρὰ) [X]αιρήμωνος π. [...] [- - -] σί(του)(ἀρτάβαι) γ  
 σί(του)(ἀρτάβαι) . π(αρὰ) I[- - -] σί(του)(ἀρτάβη) α  
 vac.  
 5 † λόγ(ος) ἀναλω`μά(των)´ χρεωστοῦ[μ](ένων) π(αρ´) [ἐ]μοῦ διαφόρ(οις)  
 ἀνδράσι  
 οὔ(τως)

τῷ ῥάπτῃ	σί(του) (ἀρτ.) [.]
γναφεῖ	(ἀρτ.) α
ὑδροφόρῳ	(ἀρτ.) α
10 (ὑπὲρ) κατακαλλίου	(ἀρτ.) α
(ὑπὲρ) καμασίου	(ἀρτ.) .
[(ὑπὲρ)] μοφορ(ίου) Σοφ(ίας)	(ἀρτ.) β (ὑπὲρ) φακιαλ(ίου) Γεωρ(γίου)
φασι᾽όλ(ου)ʹ	
	/ῖφ(ιον)\

traces of six more lines

2 et passim π || 3 et passim σϣ ⋈ || 5 λογς || αναλω᾽μαγʹ || χρεωστον[μ] || διαφορ, δι corr. ex. αυ || 6 ου— || 8 et passim ⋈ || 10 et passim ψ || 12 μοφορ, l. μαφορ(ίου) || σοφ || φακιαλ || γεωρς || φασι᾽ολʹ || ῖφ

3 [X]αιρήμωνος: Cf. G.R. Ruffini, *A Prosopography of Byzantine Aphrodite* (2011) 139–140. See among others Chairemon (nr. 9) in P.Cair. Masp. II 67141, V V° 12 (VI), an account of expenses written by Dioscorus relating to his family holdings, and cf. n. to l. 12.

10 κατακαλλίου: This word for “hooded cloak” is probably taken from Latin *caracalla*, the originally Gallic cape with hood, cf. S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel Greco d’Egitto* (1991<sup>2</sup>) 49, J. Kramer, *Von der Papyrologie zur Romanistik*, APF Beiheft 30 (2010) 207–217 and CPR X 139, n. to l. 2. For the connection with Latin *cucullus*, the hooded cloak worn by monks, see references in P.Heid. IV 333, n. to l. 4, and for references to illustrations of these hooded garments, see D. Montserrat, *BASP* 29 (1992) 84, n. to l. 3–4.

11 καμασίου: Cf. Latin *camisia* with the same meaning “shirt”, S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel Greco d’Egitto* (1991<sup>2</sup>) 48–49. J. Kramer has proposed that both the Latin and the Greek word were separately borrowed from a Balkan language in “Zur Rolle von Papyrusbelegen für die Wortgeschichte am Beispiel von *camisia* und καμάσιον/καμίσιον”, APF 40 (1994) 133–142 and *Von der Papyrologie zur Romanistik*, APF Beiheft 30 (2010) 195–205; for references and attestations see also P.Heid. VII 406, n. to l. 4.

12 μοφορ(ίου), l. μαφορ(ίου), variant of μαφόρτης: “veil, headdress, cape”. For the interchange of vowels see στιχαρωμοφοριν for στιχαρομαφόριον in SB III 6024, 2, 3, 7 (IV–VII). It might be a loanword from Latin *maforte*, see S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel Greco d’Egitto* (1991<sup>2</sup>) 71. The Greek word is used for a veil or a cape worn by women, cf. P.Oxy. LIX 4004, 15 (V); P.Princ. II 95, 19 (V; BL X, 165), but maybe also for the headdress of priests, cf. P.Coll. Youtie II 85 (VI). In P.Heid. VII 406, 5ff. (IV–V) the garment is included in a list of clothes belonging to a man (λόγος ἱματίων ὧν ἔχει Δωρόθεος, l. 2). If interpretation of the abbreviation Σοφ(ίας) is correct, the μαφόριον is a woman’s headdress here.

Σοφ(ίας): This abbreviation could refer to Dioscorus’ wife Sofia, see J.-L. Fournet, “Archive ou archives de Dioscore? Les dernières années des «archives de

Dioscore»”, in J.-L. Fournet (ed.), *Les archives de Dioscore d’Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte* (2008) 22–29.

φακιάλ(ίου): Loanword from Latin *faciale*, S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel Greco d’Egitto* (1991<sup>2</sup>) 114, with the broad meaning “face-cloth, turban, towel”, cf. LSJ s.v. The φακιάλιον can be used by men, see P.Tebt. II 406, 18 (266) and women, see SB XIV 11575, 13 (second half III; BL XII, 210). In this list the φακιάλιον seems to have been a kerchief for a man.

Γεωργ(γίου): Cf. G.R. Ruffini, *A Prosopography of Byzantine Aphrodite* (2011) 194–198. Several of men with this name are connected to Dioscorus, see e.g. the payment of 1 artabe by Dioscorus to a Georgios in P.Cair. Masp. II 67141, I V° 32 (VI).

φασι`όλ(ου)’: This variant of φάσηλος “a kind of bean” is not attested in the papyri, but see for attestations elsewhere LSJ s.v. φασίολος.

**13** ἴφ(ιον): The Egyptian measure ἴφιον is regularly used in accounts from the archive of Dioscorus, see P.Cair. Masp. II 67138–67139 (541–546; BL IX, 43); II 67141 (VI); III 67325 (559–560; BL XII, 47). One would expect to find a number after this measure, but there are no traces of that on the papyrus.

*From [...], from Xairemon 80 [...], 3 artabai grain, [...] artabai grain, from I[...], 1 artabe grain;*

*Account of expenses owed by me to various men. As follows: to the clothes-mender [...] artabe grain, to the fuller 1 artabe, to the water carrier 1 artabe, on account of a hooded cloak 1 artabe, on account of a shirt [...] artabe, on account of Sofia’s headdress 2 artabai, on account of Georgios’ kerchief (?) ifion of beans.*